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ABSTRACT

Noting that throughout U.S. history most viewpoints not expressed in the mainstream press have found an outlet among alternative publications, this paper presents a profile of the 19th century peace advocacy press. The paper also notes that most studies of peace history have been produced by scholars of diplomatic, military, and political history, who have viewed the field within the framework of their respective disciplines. Analyzing the field from a communication perspective, the first paper presents a review of the literature on peace history and the history of the peace advocacy press. The paper then traces the 19th century peace advocacy movement and its presses; and after that presents an analysis of a sample of peace advocacy periodicals, examining method, purpose and audience, overview of content, view of reform and journalism, concern with other media, coverage of other reform efforts, and some journalistic strategies. The paper concludes that the moral and ideological exclusion experienced by peace advocates may have significantly shaped their communication. Two appendixes provide: (1) a taxonomy of 19th century peace advocacy and its publications, and (2) selected examples of 19th century peace advocacy publications. One hundred twenty-three notes are included. (NH)

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A Preliminary Profile of the Nineteenth-Century U.S. Peace Advocacy Press

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A Preliminary Profile of the Nineteenth-Century U.S. Peace Advocacy Press

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Appendix A: A Taxonomy of Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy and Its Publications

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A Preliminary Profile of the Nineteenth-Century U.S. Peace Advocacy Press

The American alternative press tradition runs strong and deep. Throughout U.S. history most cultures and viewpoints not expressed in the mainstream press have found an outlet among myriad alternative publications. Examples come quickly to mind: the African American press, the religious press, Spanish-language newspapers. Among the alternative press are many vigorous social movement advocacy publications whose founders used them to challenge the dominant culture to consider new ideas and concerns and to foment change. Important nineteenth-century examples include the periodicals of abolitionists, evangelicals, temperance activists, woman suffragists, and peace advocates.

Nineteenth-century U.S. peace advocates were often members of the most respected classes of society. However, their adoption of certain moral and ideological positions placed them at odds with their countrymen and women. In the millions of pages of peace advocacy periodicals, tracts, and pamphlets that they produced, this moral and ideological isolation/exclusion emerges as a forceful shaper of their communication strategies. Studying this communication may provide some insights into the overall workings of the alternative press, not just in the nineteenth century but in our own.

For instance, this study suggests that advocates' conception of journalism as a form of activism in its own right, comparable to public speaking, etc., is not new. Like their contemporary as

well as their twentieth-century counterparts, nineteenth-century peace advocates also emphasized the significance of writing as a form of activism and the power of the press to change public opinion. And while early twentieth-century (pre-*Masses*) reformers and radicals tended to approach their causes with the utmost gravity--to do otherwise, they feared, could compromise their credibility--so did nineteenth-century peace advocates communicate their ideas in a sober, didactic (if at times even boring) way. Yet there were also many attempts to be interesting and even entertaining.

I. Review of the Literature on Peace History and the History of the Peace Advocacy Press

Perhaps the most central reform movement in U.S. history is peace advocacy, as a substantial body of work by historians has shown.[1] Beginning early in the nineteenth century with the development of the first organized peace societies, countless peace advocates, both reformers and radicals, have worked for the realization of world peace, in innumerable ways. Some have been propelled by religious convictions, particularly those members of the historic peace churches, the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Church of the Brethren. Many more have worked for peace through nonsectarian affiliations such as the American Peace Society (started 1828), the League of Universal Brotherhood (1846), and the Universal Peace Union (1866).

Most studies of peace history have been produced by

scholars of diplomatic, military, and political history, who have viewed the field essentially within the framework of their respective disciplines, with scant attention paid to the peace press.[2] Few communication scholars have considered the historical dimension of this press. While the press's role as an agent of social change has been well established,[3] little attention has been focused on the advocacy press, whose primary purpose is to effect change. When historians have studied the nineteenth-century advocacy press, they have examined the publications of reformers such as evangelicals,[4] feminists,[5] abolitionists,[6] and temperance advocates[7]--but not those of peace reformers. Yet peace advocacy, certainly in the antebellum period, was common--and often correlated with advocacy of other reforms such as abolition and women's rights.[8] Research by communication historians on the peace advocacy press, currently in its nascence, is an area ripe for inquiry.[9]

II. Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy Movements and Their Presses

In 1815 the modern, nonsectarian American peace movement was born. The years 1815-1816 saw the simultaneous, independent (and at times unbeknownst to each other) emergence of major peace societies in the United States and Britain.[10] The immediate catalyst for the formation of these societies was the century of European conflict which culminated in the continental wars of the Napoleonic period and their extension to the Americas in the War of 1812.[11] Like the philanthropic reforms of the early nineteenth century, the peace movement's intellectual roots lay in the

eighteenth-century Enlightenment.[12] These humanitarian, patriotic reformers founded nondenominational organizations whose membership was overwhelmingly Protestant. Historian Charles DeBenedetti describes them as "typical romantic reformers, individualistic yet organized, rationalistic yet sentimental, personally conservative yet socially radical, humanly optimistic yet scripturally literalist." Well-educated, most were middle-class, Congregationalist or Unitarian gentlemen of the urban Northeast. Many were clergy, teachers, and professional men.[13]

They founded organizations such as the New York Peace Society (1815)[14] and the Massachusetts Peace Society (1815),[15] initiating a continuous American peace movement.[16] By the end of 1821, the Massachusetts Peace Society had distributed, with its auxiliaries, a total to date of 7,155 copies of its periodical, the *Friend of Peace*.[17]

In 1828 the American Peace Society (APS), was formed, absorbing many of the smaller state and regional peace organizations.[18] The APS and subsequent peace advocacy associations can be considered part of a social movement, which King has defined as "a group venture extending beyond a local community or a single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes in thought, behavior, and social relationships."[19]

Alexis de Tocqueville observed during his visit to the United States in the early 1830s that some of the most significant U.S. associations were those of social movements,

many of whom "recognized that communication was essential in maintaining their cohesion" and accomplished this by the publication of pamphlets and newspapers.[20]

The APS tried to change public opinion through its periodicals such as the *Advocate of Peace*, the *Calumet*, and the *Harbinger of Peace*, as well as through the publication of tracts, the encouragement of peace sermons in the churches, and the sponsorship of peace essay contests in colleges, which sometimes led to the formation of student peace societies, such as those at Amherst, Dartmouth, and Oberlin. The APS aimed "to reach the public mind only through the ordinary channels of influence," seeking "reform with as little agitation as possible." It wished "to effect a peaceful change on this subject by the moral suasion of the gospel addressed to the community in ways to which they are already accustomed." Thus, the APS first sought the sanction of the "highest ecclesiastical bodies," and instructed its agents "invariably to act in concert with pastors." [21] This strategy also suggests that peace advocates sought to cultivate respectability as a means of winning society's acceptance.

In 1837, inspired by the nonresistance ideas of John Humphrey Noyes (the perfectionist founder of the upstate New York Oneida Community), William Lloyd Garrison became the leader of the new radical group, the New England Non-Resistance Society, which splintered from the APS during the debate over war as a potential means to end slavery.

During the Civil War peace advocates were divided over the

issues of war and abolition and the American Peace Society declined. Pacifism during the War became largely the lonely province of the three traditional peace sects (the Mennonites, the Brethren, and the Quakers) and some newer, millenarian nonresistant sects, such as the Seventh-Day Adventists and the Christadelphians. Following the war the APS was revived, reclaiming its traditional, middle-of-the-road character.

In 1866 a new nonsectarian organization, the Universal Peace Union, was founded. In reaction to the pro-Civil War position the APS adopted, it took a much less compromising position on violence, following Garrisonian nonresistance. It was led by Alfred Love from 1866 until his death in 1913.[22] Together, the American Peace Society and the Universal Peace Union represented the two points of view whose polarity had led to the decline of the APS in the antebellum years.

In the post-Civil War years, these groups were significant peace societies. Curiously, despite the important inspirational effect of the Quakers' historical peace testimony on early peace advocacy writers (both conservative and radical), the Quakers themselves had little to do with any of the nonsectarian peace groups.[23] In 1867, in response to the Civil War, the Quakers founded the Peace Association of Friends in North America, whose major publications was the *Messenger of Peace*.

Also considered a part of the peace movement in the second half of the nineteenth century were various groups which organized to codify and support specific methods of peace-

seeking, such as arbitration and international law and organization.[24]

At birth, peace societies immediately saw a need for publications to cover the peace issues that were left out of mainstream and religious newspapers.[25] Taking advantage of advances in printing and transportation, many groups, such as religious ones, diffused their propaganda as tracts.[26] Peace advocates also produced thousands of pages of tracts, which they distributed free of charge or for a nominal sum. While tracts were a significant component of the nineteenth-century peace advocacy press, this study focuses on the peace periodical press. As Merle Curti has noted, of all the official peace publications, "the periodicals themselves are the most important printed materials, as they contain the annual reports and many of the sermons and addresses which... circulated in tract form."[27]

The Appendix provides a taxonomy of the American peace advocacy press. Just as peace advocacy took a variety of forms, from absolute pacifism to a moderate position allowing for "defensive" war, so did the peace advocacy periodical press express a kaleidoscope of viewpoints, from the fairly conservative position of the American Peace Society (allowing for "defensive" war) and its regional antecedents and affiliates, to the radical, thorough-going pacifism of the New England Non-Resistance Society. Most visible, widely circulated, and comparatively prominent were the publications of the broadly-

based nonsectarian Christian humanitarian peace organizations, such as the American Peace Society's *Advocate of Peace*, *Calumet*, and *Harbinger of Peace*, and the publications of its regional forerunners and affiliates, such as the Connecticut Peace Society's *American Advocate of Peace*, the Massachusetts Peace Society's *Friend of Peace*, and the Pennsylvania Peace Society's *Advocate of Peace and Christian Patriot*.

Less visible than these periodicals were the expressly religious publications of the historic peace churches. The Mennonite press was still in its infancy in the 1850s; moreover, Mennonites were separatists who did not aim to proselytize the outside society.[28] A regular Quaker weekly press first appeared in October 1827 with the publication of the Philadelphia *Friend*, which became the Orthodox branch's organ, and the Hicksites established a regular newspaper, the *Friends' Weekly Intelligencer*, in 1844. Quaker periodicals discussed pacifism mainly in religious terms; and although in the years before mid-century they devoted considerable attention to peace issues, the amount of space given to such issues was a small amount of the total. So while the nonsectarian peace organizations confessed their indebtedness to the Quaker peace witness, American Quakers themselves, for a variety of reasons, were socially isolated during this period. Largely reluctant to collaborate with their admirers, the Quakers gave them "a certain slightly condescending approval."[29] The German Baptist Brethren produced "no literature dealing even incidentally with the subject of their peace

testimony before the middle of the nineteenth century."[30]

III. Analysis of a Sample of Peace Advocacy Periodicals

A. Method

This study analyzes ten of the nineteenth century's most important, comparatively high-circulation publications of prominent nonsectarian peace advocacy organizations such as the American Peace Society and the Universal Peace Union, as well as two Quaker publications (to represent the religious-based peace advocacy of the historic peace churches). The sample varies in geographic and philosophical origins. Complete files of the following periodicals at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection were examined, representing in their sum the period ranging from 1915 to 1913.[31]

The *Friend of Peace*, the organ of the Massachusetts Peace Society, a quarterly published and edited by Noah Worcester in Boston and Cambridge, Mass., 1815-1827.

The *Advocate of Peace and Christian Patriot*, issued monthly by the Pennsylvania Peace Society in Philadelphia, 1828-1829.

Three successive periodicals of the American Peace Society: the *Harbinger of Peace* (a monthly duodecimo published in New York and edited by William Ladd, May 1828-April 1831); the *Calumet* (two octavos issued bimonthly from New York and edited by William Ladd, 1831-1835); and the *Advocate of Peace*, which superseded the *American Advocate of Peace* (1834-1836), which had been founded as the quarterly organ of the Connecticut Peace Society, in

Hartford.[32] (The *Advocate of Peace* has been continued since 1910 in *World Affairs*.)

Three periodicals of the Universal Peace Union: the *Bond of Peace* (published monthly in Philadelphia, 1868-1874); the *Voice of Peace* (published monthly in Philadelphia, 1868-1874); and the *Peacemaker* (published in Philadelphia, 1883-1913, with frequency and title variations).[33]

Two Quaker periodicals: the *Messenger of Peace*, published by the Peace Association of Friends in America[34] in New Vienna, Ohio (1870-1877) and Richmond, Ind. (1887-1890), with title variations, and edited by Daniel Hill; and the *Herald of Peace*, published semimonthly in Chicago (1868-1869).

First, a brief general profile of this sample of the peace advocacy press will be provided. These periodicals range in size and appearance, from the comparatively modest *Harbinger of Peace* measuring five by eight inches and the *Friend of Peace* at six by nine and a half inches, to the *Bond of Peace* at eight by eleven inches and the *Herald of Peace* at nine by twelve inches. Throughout the sample, the number of per-issue pages and advertisements, as well as illustrations, increases with time, doubtless reflecting developments in technology (as well as, in some cases, the relative success of the organization with which each periodical was associated). By the 1870s and 1880s, advertising was plentiful, often filling several pages and touting general-interest products including books and

periodicals, health nostrums, and household appliances and supplies. (Advertising was similar in scope and kind among at least one other contemporary social movement periodical, the temperance movement's *Union Signal*.[35])

Despite the varying timespans and organization fortunes represented by these periodicals, cost of annual subscriptions remained fairly consistent. Throughout the period studied, one dollar per year was a typical price, starting with the *Friend of Peace* even before 1820. The extremes are represented by the *Messenger of Peace*, charging 50 cents (1879) and the *Herald of Peace*, $1.50 (1868). Compared to the prevailing rates for other U.S. magazines, the peace publications were inexpensive.[36] This likely stems from their creators' desire to achieve a wide readership, which, typical of advocacy publications, overshadowed profitability considerations.

Like so many of their contemporaries, editors such as Noah Worcester and William Ladd worked without salary, publishing their papers at their own risk and expense.[37] Running in the red was characteristic of the peace press. Like so many other social movement-reform publications in U.S. history, they were edited and published by a small band of dedicated followers perpetually in need of money.[38]

Besides subscription (and advertising) revenue, income from job printing and donations provided necessary funding. Appeals for funds were common, and lists of the donors and the amounts they paid or pledged, were published regularly.[39]

Accurate circulation data for these publications is difficult to obtain; it does indicate that while audiences for these periodicals did not rival in size those for the penny press, neither were they inconsequential. For instance, in 1850 the *Advocate of Peace* had a circulation of 3,000.[40] The more available self-reported circulation data indicates, for example, that in 1831, the *Harbinger of Peace* printed about 18,500 copies and that in 1840 the *Advocate of Peace*, a bimonthly, was being issued in quantities from 2,000 to 2,700.[41] The *Messenger of Peace* announced that in 1878, 214,600 pages of tracts were distributed, and 169 volumes, "while the matter contained in the *Messenger of Peace* has been equal to 1,404,000 pages of tracts."[42] It seems reasonable to conclude that circulation figures generally reached one to two thousand or more, fairly typical of mainstream magazines in the pre-1850 period.[43] Furthermore, many copies were passed along; their publishers made a point of getting them into libraries and to opinion leaders (as indicated by their regularly published subscription lists).

B. Purpose and Audience

The peace press's audience ranged from the uninitiated to those who were committed members of peace organizations. Editors aimed to build and maintain their geographically dispersed communities of conscience while attracting and educating new converts. This two-fold audience also characterizes some other nineteenth-century social movement advocacy publications, such as

those of the woman suffrage movement.[44] It is a challenging task to reach such a dual audience; as Martha M. Solomon has observed, "the job of gaining new members while maintaining a consistent sense of group identity ... requires unusual rhetorical acumen."[45]

Occasionally the peace publications themselves give clues suggesting how they further defined that audience.[46] Especially, the peace press sought to maintain its loyal following and build internal cohesion. Much content was directed to the latter group. Morale was built in several ways, often through the cataloguing of each incremental gain for the cause of peace. Even the smallest acknowledgment of their arguments conferred by mainstream society was presented as occasion for rejoicing. Peace-furthering achievements both large and small were celebrated. For example, the first annual report of the Massachusetts Peace Society, published in the *Friend of Peace* in 1817, noted, "All human institutions are stamped with imperfection; and the best of them are capable of being improved by time and experience." The report continued:

> Considering the circumstances under which the Massachusetts Peace Society originated, the smallness of its funds, and the powerful prepossessions it had to encounter, it was not to be expected that the first Report of its officers, would contain a list of facts either very numerous, splendid, or interesting.

Yet, despite this disclaimer, the report went on to note many small achievements, including the distribution of six numbers of the *Friend of Peace*, as well as other publications to "several

Colleges in New-England."[47]

The *Friend of Peace* ran a regular column called "Auspicious Occurrences," in which it frequently noted the founding of other peace societies,[48] along with such far-flung intelligence as the news that Switzerland's Council of the Valais had abolished capital punishment, and that a Catholic paper in France had praised the work of the Massachusetts Peace Society.[49] Other morale-building columns offered short news items describing activities and achievements of other peace societies (both U.S. regional and British) and their publications.[50] The organization self-consciously noted and celebrated with fanfare each new peace advocacy publication.

A similar column was the *Advocate of Peace*'s "Auspicious movements," which reported, for instance, the "omen of much promise to our cause" that the secretary of the American Peace Society had "been invited to attend discussions appointed by some ecclesiastical bodies on questions of great importance to the cause of peace."[51] Other peace periodicals carefully and frequently noted the growth of the peace movement, both in the United States and abroad.[52] And not surprisingly, individual publications ran articles that pointed out the direct salutary effects of reading their pages.[53]

Also, doubtless to build morale as well as to attract new partisans, laudatory letters-to-the-editor were often printed. Typical is a letter from the Rev. William A. Huckabee of Morganton, Georgia, published in an 1879 issue of the *Messenger*

of Peace: "Dear Sir: I am converted to Peace principles, and I attribute it to the reading of your paper."[54] Overall, the letters published were almost invariably positive. The *Friend of Peace* once admitted censoring part of a letter which expressed certain sentiments about "the Editor...which could not with propriety be published in this work."[55] Still, a few publications did print some of the negative missives. For instance, the *Herald of Peace* printed this comment from a reader: "I think it ought to be named the *Herald of War*. It stirs up so much strife and controversy."[56]

This almost uniformly positive, movement-building tone minimized any internal discord that might have existed. Thus, during the antebellum period, which was characterized by considerable dissension within the American Peace Society over aims and purposes of the peace movement vis-a-vis slavery, the *Advocate of Peace* reported only that there was "some diversity of views among our own members."[57] All of the above evidence suggests a press very conscious of its effects on its audiences, both internal and external.

Additional evidence includes the frequent attempts periodicals made to gauge those effects. Much of the evidence they gathered was anecdotal. "Our cause is rapidly gaining ground," the *Harbinger of Peace* announced confidently in 1829. "Contributions to our paper are more frequent, and, on all hands, we hear complaints that our book is too small, and that it ought to be twice or thrice as large."[58] Likewise, the *Calumet* in 1832

claimed that "The friends of Peace are scattered throughout almost the whole of Christendom...Our influence extends to Europe."[59] The *Friend of Peace* measured its journalistic impact by the growth of regional peace societies, and by the fact that the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers had voted official approval of the Massachusetts Peace Society.[60]

C. Overview of Content

Typical of its contemporaries, the *American Advocate of Peace* aimed

> 1st, to extended discussions of the most important topics connected with the cause of peace; 2d, to brief Critical Notices of current publications as they come within the application of our principles, with the design of promoting, in this respect, in a Christian country, a pure and Christian Literature; 3d, to intelligence concerning the progress of pacific principles and the civil and political affairs of nations.

Likewise did the *Voice of Peace* seek "to proclaim ripe and fresh arguments for peace. To offer Letters, Essays, Stories, Speeches and information on the most practical means for its establishment," with "kindred subjects...only find[ing] a place when they are for those things that make for peace."[61]

Considerable content consisted of didactic essays. Characteristic examples included facts and statistics to prove war's immorality and waste, as in "The Delusions and Suicidal Results of War"; arguments illustrating the incompatibility of war with Christian principles, as in "Is Peace Consistent with Christianity?"; and practical suggestions for reform, as in "The

Object of Peace Societies Practicable."[62] Letters to the editor were also a staple feature. Poetry was fairly common among the later-dated publications[63] and moralistic fiction also appeared occasionally.[64] Such content, paralleling that available in contemporary mainstream newspapers and magazines (to which readers were already accustomed), was a reader-attracting strategy also employed by the woman suffrage press, the temperance press, and, perhaps to a lesser degree, by the antislavery press.[65]

Also, the *Bond of Peace*, the *Herald of Peace*, the *Voice of Peace*, and the *Peacemaker* published a special children's section, offering essays, poems, and stories to help teach younger readers about peace,[66] as did the temperance press.[67]

D. Views of Reform and Journalism

In the pages of the peace press, advocates wrote candidly of their purposes, both as reformers and radicals, and as writers/journalists. The characteristic nineteenth-century belief in rationality reigned. As the American Peace Society claimed in its organ, the *Calumet*, "Past experience also teaches us, that delusions...have been dissipated by the light of truth."[68] The peace advocacy press set out to illuminate that truth. It set out to marshal and publicize all the rational arguments in favor of its cause. Just as their antislavery counterparts held "that the press was one of the most powerful agencies of reform,"[69] peace advocates greatly valued writing and

publication as tools of persuasion, as much if not more so than other forms of personal activism (e.g., public speaking and interpersonal, face-to-face communication). This may suggest that peace advocates felt morally and ideologically isolated/excluded from mainstream society; they may have found it easier to work for an unpopular cause through writing and publication, activities that could be carried on passionately and even anonymously. (For instance, Massachusetts Peace Society founder Noah Worcester wrote for the *Friend of Peace* for many years under the pseudonym "Philo Pacificus.")

Peace advocates strove mightily to persuade through the written word. The *Messenger of Peace* stated that it was "filled with facts and arguments to prove that War is unchristian, inhuman and unnecessary."[70] Likewise, the *Friend of Peace* asserted in 1819, "it is in the power of the Editors of Newspapers to do much good with little labor and expense. A few well written remarks on the subject of war may occasion thousands to reflect, and eventually save thousands from untimely death by murderous hands."[71] Indeed, the *Friend of Peace* continued,

> Among the numerous gifts of God for the advancement of our race, in knowledge, virtue, and happiness, the tongue, the pen, and the press hold a preeminent rank...Had the tongue, the pen, and the press been always under the direction of wisdom and benevolence, duelling and war would never have been known among men; and even now, should all these gifts be henceforth duly consecrated to the purposes of love and peace, it is very certain that in *one year* from this day, war would be banished from the earth, never to return.[72]

Enlightenment rationality was a compelling factor in the formation of these ideas, as discussed. Too, such sentiments are typical of what has been called the "genesis" stage in the life cycle of social movements, in which "the movement's initial leaders believe, often with remarkable naivete, that appropriate institutions will act if the movement can make institutional leaders and followers aware of the urgent problem and its solution."[73] However, this emphasis on writing and publication characterizes peace advocates not only shortly after the founding of the first peace organizations in 1815, but throughout the century.

Not surprisingly, the *Friend of Peace*'s sponsoring organization, the Massachusetts Peace Society, in its constitution singled out the role of the written word in encouraging "the formation of similar societies" both in the United States and abroad.[74] "We regard the *Advocate* [*of Peace*] as our main instrument," the American Peace Society stated in the pages of that periodical.[75] References to the press as "an engine of vast moral power" also appeared in the *Advocate*. The APS wished "to hear [the press's] ten thousand tongues speak on this subject, in the ear of all reading communities, through books, and pamphlets, and tracts, and newspapers, and every class of periodicals."[76]

And the more radical *Voice of Peace*, while holding that "To live peace is better than to write it or speak it," still emphasized the importance of sending forth the *Voice of Peace* "to

be heard and heeded."[77]

Writers and editors frequently referred to their role as manipulators of public opinion. "The power of public opinion has become proverbial," wrote the *Advocate of Peace*. "It is the lever of the moral world."[78] In another issue, the *Advocate* stated, "Public opinion is our main instrument; and we would cast it in the mould of peace. It is the mistress of the world, and does more to control Christendom than all her fleets and armies."[79] Furthermore, the *Advocate* wrote, "We seek to effect such a change in public opinion as shall secure a right and universal application of the gospel to the intercourse of Christian nations."[80] Such sentiments were echoed by the second Pennsylvania Peace Society, whose constitution stated its object was "to collect and disseminate information calculated to bring about a correct public opinion on the subject of *Peace* and *War*."[81] Similarly, the *Calumet* maintained that "Public opinion is yet to rule the world," and that "by the simple process of *enlightening and influencing public opinion*,...the war-spirit may be subdued."[82] The pages of the peace press contain many other such references to public opinion.[83] Perhaps the comparatively high education and class level of the movement's leaders contributed to their optimism in the efficacy of their written words to sway public opinion. Their belief that the press could influence public opinion directly and powerfully was shared by most other Americans of the time. This idea seems to have taken root after the Revolution and endured, occasionally challenged,

into the 1880s.[84]

On the whole, the nineteenth-century peace press took itself seriously, perhaps in direct proportion to peace advocates' level of insecurity about society's acceptance of their message. As the *Bond of Peace* stated, "For ourselves rest assured we regard the cause as a life work, you will not find us to faltor [sic] for mere trifles." [85] A sober and serious style rather than one providing a more rhetorically interesting message was used by the peace press. Reform and radical journalists have been perennially concerned that attempts to be entertaining, for instance through the pursuit of an elegant, even literary style, would betray the gravity of their causes. This may be the fallout of sensing moral and ideological marginalization. The more one feels one's ideas are considered unacceptable or controversial by society, the more compelled one is to maintain a serious public demeanor, in order not to lose the precious amount of credibility already claimed.

So it is not surprising that in 1829 the *Harbinger* disavowed responsibility for some readers' complaints that it was "insipid and uninteresting," instead calling into question "the want of interest in the subject [of peace] itself." The *Harbinger* went on, "We cannot make a novel of it. We cannot deal in fiction. We are bound to the truth. We cannot address the imagination; we can only appeal to the judgment and to the conscience, and what can we do with readers who have neither? Our object is not to *create* excitement, but to *allay* it."[86]

It is generally thought that until the brilliant, literary, and captivating radical periodical *Masses* (edited by Max Eastman) appeared in 1911, most advocacy journalists disavowed entertainment and literary craft for the safer path of staid content. However, the nineteenth-century woman suffrage press "was not all suffrage and suffering," offering poetry, short stories, and essays on a variety of other subjects and even household hints in an attempt to attract more readers.[87] The temperance press, too, sought to offer varied, interesting content.[88] Among peace movement publications, the *Herald of Peace* gave some thought to its attention-getting qualities. In the years following the Civil War, it chose not to devote its pages exclusively to peace, reasoning that the subject had limited audience appeal. "The number of persons in the United States who would subscribe for a paper strictly devoted to the cause of peace, and pay their money for it cheerfully and promptly, and, what is more, read it with any degree of interest, we are sorry to say is very small...a paper which presents one subject only, becomes dry and uninteresting to many." Therefore, the *Herald* set out to offer not only content dealing specifically with peace, but on "all subjects which effect [sic] our interest as Christians...We are truly convinced that peace will only be attained by a proper appreciation...of the peaceable requirements of the gospel." This meant that the *Herald*, while aiming to be "thoroughly acceptable to the Society of Friends," would "avoid a narrow sectarian character, and endeavor to maintain that charity

and true catholic spirit which will make it a welcome visitor among thousands of every Christian name." [89]

E. Concern with Other Media

The degree of importance that nineteenth-century peace editors and writers attached to writing and publication can be seen in their attentiveness to other media: reform, religious, and mainstream. Throughout the period studied, this concern with outside media's treatment of peace issues and peace advocacy organizations and their publications also suggests peace advocates' self-consciousness as purveyors of often unpopular ideas. The peace press often measured its effectiveness in terms of its impact on these other presses, especially mainstream. It has been suggested that only in the late nineteenth century did social movements adopt a communication strategy of seeking to get their messages into the commercial mass media.[90] The seeds of this strategy can be seen in nineteenth-century peace periodicals' media-consciousness. Regular columns in the peace press detailed a variety of other publications' reactions to it. "From the presses to which we have sent our request for co-operation," began one such column in the *Advocate of Peace*, "we are receiving almost daily responses of cordiality and encouragement."[91] For instance, 1827, the American Peace Society claimed in its *Advocate of Peace* that "The public press is almost universally open to the cause of peace." Among its evidence for this, the APS noted that "The religious newspapers have come up

nobly to our help," making many more "applications for peace essays than we can answer."[92]

In 1829 the American Peace Society noted in its *Harbinger of Peace* that "Our cause is rapidly gaining ground," pointing to "Honourable mention and frequent quotations" of the *Harbinger* that had "appeared in the newspapers, particularly the religious papers."[93] And the APS claimed in 1831 in its periodical, the *Calumet*, that "a large number of pamphlets and newspaper essays have appeared on the subject of Peace, in various parts of the country." This led the APS to believe "that the press is every year becoming more and more active in this cause."[94] The *Friend of Peace* also kept watch on other media.[95] Nineteenth-century peace advocates, like many members of social movement organizations, placed an especially high value on the persuasive powers of the press, and they often prodded the mainstream press to publish articles proselytizing for peace.[96]

Just about any mention in the mainstream press was welcome, and so in 1869 the *Bond of Peace* devoted nearly an entire page to discussion of the largely negative reactions to the Universal Peace Union's ideas, which had recently appeared in the pages of publications including the *New York Times*, the *New York Evening Express*, the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, and the *Detroit Post*.[97]

Concern with lack of visibility is characteristic in the "maintenance" phase of the life cycle of social movements--that is, in the phase following the launching of the movement and the first rush of enthusiasm.[98] Yet the peace press's concern with

peace publicity in the outside press was continuous, present throughout the nineteenth century at every stage. This may suggest, again, peace advocates' insecurity as moral and ideological outsiders.

F. Coverage of Other Reform Efforts

If the press was an "engine of vast moral power," it could drive the train of reform not only for peace, but for other causes deemed of significant moral weight. And so the peace press regularly featured articles on related reform efforts. The degree and range of advocacy was naturally a function of the ideology of the sponsoring publication or religion. For instance, besides peace, the Universal Peace Union in its organ the *Voice of Peace* backed a far-ranging set of reforms, pledging "To be just to all, irrespective of color, sex, race or condition." The abolition of military "taxes, schools, drills, pomp and preferment," as well as the restriction of the sale and use of deadly weapons, justice for American Indians, and the practice of temperance were advocated.[99] Furthermore, educational reform was highlighted as a priority: "Petitioning governments to abolish war clauses is good; giving aid to men and women in overcoming evil passions is better," the *Voice* asserted, "but, to our mind, the best of all is to commence at the very foundation and teach the children of the rising generation in morality and good works. There are thousands of neglected children growing up with little or no instruction, save in the arts of wickedness,

and by and by they will fill the ranks of those who carry on wars, murders and every immoral practice by which the world is cursed." [100]

Among this sample of the peace press, articles denouncing capital punishment were common.[101] Also frequent, particularly after the Civil War, were articles advocating justice for American Indians. For instance, the *Voice of Peace* had a regular "Indian Department."[102]

Reflecting the positions of their sponsoring organizations or religions, a number of periodicals urged varying degrees of equal treatment of women. For instance, the *Bond of Peace*, which "cordially invite[d] all to enroll...who are willing to labor irrespective of color[,] race[,] sex[,] or condition..." wholeheartedly embraced equal rights for women. "In fact," stated the *Bond*, "it is useless for us to look on universal peace, while woman is kept back from having a voice in the council of the nation."[103]

In addition, occasional articles advocated temperance. The *Messenger of Peace* led the way, proposing in 1879 to increase the number of articles on this subject. "We regard intemperance as the handmaid, of war," the *Messenger* stated, "often having much to do in causing war, and leading to fearful sacrifices of men through the recklessness of officers under the influence of strong drink."[104] Articles in the peace press also denounced the use of tobacco. A prophetic one in an 1869 issue of the *Bond of Peace* condemned smoking, claimed smoking "conveys its poisonous

influence into every part of the lungs."[105] Occasional articles also advocated humane treatment of animals.[106] The *Herald of Peace* suggested that the animal movement was "ill-directed," and that good treatment of animals would be ensured when there was peace between human beings.[107]

Other articles backed a variety of humanitarian reforms. These included antislavery, to which much coverage was given during the antebellum years;[108] gun control; the abolition of lynching;[109] and penal reform.[110] Some articles also denounced children's war toys.[111]

During the antebellum period, many individuals participated in not just one but several reform movements; for instance, membership in antislavery, women's rights, and peace associations was correlated. Thus movement publications naturally backed other, related causes. For example, in the 1880s and 1890s the temperance movement publication, the *Union Signal*, proselytized for a wide variety of reform causes, including woman suffrage and feminism.[112] Woman suffrage publications such as the *Lily* and the *Una* supported temperance,[113] while another, *The Revolution* advocated a variety of reforms to help the poor and homeless, prisoners, and Native Americans.[114]

Still, the advocacy of many of the wide-ranging reforms noted above in the pages of the peace advocacy press (some of which were considered controversial) was not likely a sound strategy to help peace advocates win acceptance from the wider society. What, then, was going on? Obvious is a deep commitment

on the part of peace advocates to articulate the full breadth of their positions on difficult issues, in the belief that the moral imperatives of their positions would be made apparent through the written word's persuasive powers. The wide publication of their right thinking would change people's minds.

G. Some Journalistic Strategies

And so notwithstanding the *Harbinger of Peace*'s comment that it could not "address the imagination" of its readers, that it could "only appeal to the judgment and to the conscience," the peace press used a variety of strategies to communicate its message compellingly. As noted, essays predominated, with some fiction and poetry, as well as letters to the editor and short notices.

A primary effort was to gather and publicize what Christina Phelps has called "'statistics of war'--facts which illustrate its conditions and its evils, which show its futility."[115] Such articles characterized war as inimical to civilization and culture. Frequently they decried the organized Christian churches' "war degeneracy."

Starting with the *Friend of Peace* before 1820, stories of the horrors of war were a staple, particularly among the earlier peace advocacy periodicals. Viewing "peace as health," and war as "a disease, in the body politic," the *Friend of Peace* and its later colleagues did not always spare sensibilities in the accounting of war's human toll.[116] An article described the

aftermath of the battle of Antietam during the recent Civil War in typically vivid terms. Men lay "dead, blackened, torn, disfigured, wounded; tended by no mother's hand, no sister's love...As they rose they fell dead; some with cigars in their lips, others with bread in their hands, and some holding the miniatures of loved ones far away."[117]

Among the unforgettable scenes in the wake of one of Napoleon's battles is

> ...a stout-looking man, and a beautiful young woman, with an infant, about seven months old, at the breast, all three frozen and dead. The mother had most certainly expired in the act of suckling her child; as with one breast exposed she lay upon the drifted snow, the milk, to all appearance, in a stream drawn from the nipple by the babe, and instantly congealed. The infant seemed as if its lips had but just then been disengaged, and it reposed its little head upon the mother's bosom, with an overflow of milk, frozen as it trickled from the mouth.[118]

Such a tableau offered war as an assault on women as the embodiment of the values of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.[119]

War's toll on women was also the focus of an article in the *Advocate of Peace*. The sufferings of compelling characters (a sergeant's wife, a "maniac mother") were detailed, to illustrate the point that "Women, being forced to part with lovers, husbands, sons, have often taken their own life in a frenzy of grief and despair, or fallen eventual victims to delirium, or some lingering disease that gnawed with fatal tooth on their vitals."[120]

Articles both described the appalling atrocities perpetuated

by the soldier, and characterized war from the abused soldier's perspective.[121] The military's excessive use of corporal punishment for minor infractions of discipline was detailed (e.g., "On the first lash, the blood spirted [sic] out some yards; and after he had received fifty, his back from the neck to the waist, was one continued stream of blood").[122]

Another antiwar rhetorical strategy was to appeal to the pocketbook, illustrating war's high financial cost as well as the body counts. "Stop and consider facts and figures--then judge of our cause," urged the *Herald of Peace*. "Within the past 14 years, there have been nearly 2,000,000 lives lost by war, sanctioned by professedly Christian nations." The *Herald* claimed that the recent Civil War "cost the loss of 600,000 of our young and strong men; and the actual cost and loss in money, not less than $8,000,000,000." Thus, war preparation was equated with economic weakness.[123]

IV. Conclusion

The moral and ideological exclusion experienced by peace advocates may have significantly shaped their communication, in at least these ways:

a. Peace advocates greatly valued writing and publication as tools of persuasion to change public opinion, as much if not more so than other forms of personal activism such as public speaking and interpersonal, face-to-face communication. In their quest to cover issues they believed the mainstream press ignored, peace advocates emphasized quality writing. They aimed their

periodicals toward a dual audience of the converted and the not yet convinced and attempted strategies to appeal to both groups.

b. At the same time, some peace advocates seemed self-conscious and comparatively serious about their written communication, perhaps in direct proportion to their level of insecurity about wider acceptance of their viewpoints.

c. Peace advocates acutely attended other media: reform, religious, and mainstream, which they scoured self-consciously for any legitimizing references to themselves and their peace advocacy endeavors.

d. Peace advocates may have been more willing to risk articulating their controversial positions on other issues of the day besides peace, not only because of the perceived connection to peace ideals, but perhaps also out of the sense of moral superiority and responsibility to educate society that membership in self-contained ideological bands engendered. However, more research is necessary to establish this conclusively.

APPENDIX A:

A Taxonomy of Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy and Its Publications

Note: A wide variation in peace positions existed, from radical to reformist--from absolute pacifism, including Christian anarchism and nonresistance, to comparatively conservative peace advocacy which allowed for "defensive" war.

A. NONSECTARIAN

1. State and regional peace societies, e.g., **New York Peace Society** (founded 1815); **Massachusetts Peace Society** (founded 1815, published *Friend of Peace*, Boston and Cambridge, Mass., 1815-1827); **Pennsylvania Peace Society** (founded 1822, published *Advocate of Peace and Christian Patriot*, Philadelphia, Sept. 1828-June 1829); **Connecticut Peace Society** (founded 1831, published *American Advocate of Peace*, Hartford, Conn., 1834-1836)

2. American Peace Society (founded 1828; published *Angel of Peace* for children, Boston, started 1872; *A.P.S. Bulletin*, Washington, D.C., irregular; *Harbinger of Peace*, New York, 1828-1831; *Calumet*, New York, N.Y., 1831-1835; *Advocate of Peace*, Boston, 1837-1845, Worcester, Mass., 1846, Boston, 1846-1910, continued in 1910 in Washington, D.C., as *World Affairs*)

3. New England Non-Resistance Society (founded 1838, published *Journal of the Times*, Boston, antebellum period, irregular; *Liberator*, Boston, 1831-1865; *Non-Resistant*, Boston,

1839-1845)

4. League of Universal Brotherhood (founded 1846, published *Burritt's Christian Citizen*, Worcester, Mass., 1844-1851; *Bond of Brotherhood*, London and Worcester, Mass., 1846-1867)

5. Universal Peace Union (founded 1866 as Universal Peace Society, published *Bond of Peace*, Philadelphia, 1868-1874; *Voice of Peace*, Philadelphia, 1874-1882); *Peacemaker*, Philadelphia, 1883-1913)

B. SECTARIAN

1. Members of the historic peace churches

a. Brethren (or Dunkers) and other Anabaptist remnants, many located in Pennsylvania (Brethren publications include *Gospel Visitor*, Covington and later Columbiana, Ohio, 1851-1873; *Christian Family Companion*, Tyrone, Pa., 1865-1873; *Primitive Christian*, Meyersdale and Huntingdon, Pa., 1873-1883; *Progressive Christian*, Berlin, Pa., and later Ashland, Ohio, 1878-1888; *Gospel Messenger*, Mount Morris and later Elgin, Ill., started 1883)

b. Mennonites (publications include *Herald of Truth*, Chicago, Ill., 1864-1867 and Elkhart, Ind., 1867-1908; *Family Almanac*, Elkhart, Ind., 1870-1908 and Scottdale, Pa., 1908-1940)

c. Quakers (publications include *Moral Advocate*, Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1821-1824; *Friends' Intelligencer*, Hicksite branch, Philadelphia, 1844-1955; *Friends'*

Review, evangelical wing in Orthodox branch, Philadelphia, 1847-1894; *Herald of Peace*, Chicago, 1868-1889; *Messenger of Peace*, Peace Association of Friends in America, New Vienna, Ohio, 1870-1887, Richmond, Ind., 1887-1890, Philadelphia, 1890-1943; *Christian Worker*, orthodox branch, New Vienna, Ohio, 1871-1894; *American Friend*, Richmond, Ind., 1894-1960)

2. Communitarian-utopian groups emphasizing peace among their tenets

a. Harmonists (or Rappists) (*New Harmony Gazette/Free Enquirer*, New Harmony, Ind., 1825-1835)

b. Hopedale Community members (*Practical Christian*, Milford, Mass., 1840-1860)

c. Inspirationists (of Amana), publications unknown;

d. Oneida Community members (publications include *Witness*, Putney, Vt., 1837-1846; *American Socialist*, Oneida, N.Y., 1876-1879; *Circular* [title varies], Brooklyn, N.Y., Oneida, N.Y., Wallingford, Conn., 1851-1876)

e. Shakers (*Shaker Manifesto* [title varies], Shakers, N.Y., Mount Lebanon, N.Y., Shaker Village, N.H., East Canterbury, N.H., 1871-1899)

3. Others

a. Adventists (*Advent Shield and Review*, Boston, 1844-1845; *Advent Christian Times*, Buchanan, Mich.; *Advent*

Review and Sabbath Herald, Paris, Me., Saratoga Springs, N.Y, Rochester, N.Y., Battle Creek, Mich., started 1850; *World's Crisis*, Boston, 1854-1892)

b. Christadelphians, publications unknown

d. Disciples of Christ (publications include *Christian Baptist*, Buffaloe [Bethany], Brooke County, Va. [W.Va.], 1823-1830; *Millennial Harbinger*, Bethany, Va. [W. Va.], 1830-1870; *Western Reformer*, Milton, Ind., 1843-1849; *Proclamation and Reformer*, Milton, Ind., 1850-1851; *American Christian Review*, Indianapolis, Ind., started 1856; *Disciples of Christ*, Cincinnati, 1884-1887)

e. Osgoodites, publications unknown

f. Rogerenes, publications unknown

APPENDIX B:

Selected Examples of Nineteenth-Century Peace Advocacy Publications

Vol 1

THE

FRIEND OF PEACE.

No. X.

BY PHILO PACIFICUS.

"Glory to God in the highest—on earth peace—good will to-ward men. *Song of Angels.*

CONTENTS.

Review of Concessions by Frederic II. King of Prussia, Part I. 1
Do. do. do. Part II. 5
Extracts from a Communication written by a Friend in the state of New-York, 13
The Trial by Jury compared with War, 14
Preparations for Peace, 17
Review of the Holy Alliance, and Imperial Manifesto, 20
Correspondence between the Massachusetts Peace Society and the Emperor of Russia and Prince Galitzin, 27
Letter from a Peace Society in London, to the Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, 30
Extract of a private letter from William Allen, of London, 32
Facts Recorded, 33
From a Gentleman in Virginia, 36
From a Merchant in the Province of New Brunswick, 37
From a Gentleman in the District of Maine to one of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Peace Society, 38
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BOSTON:

PRINTED BY JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM,

NO. 47, CORNHILL.

1817.

1817

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W. & L. Garrison

One Sheet.

THE

Harbinger of Peace.

NO. 12. APRIL, 1830. VOL. II.

"BLESSED ARE THE PEACE-MAKERS."

CONTENTS.

Africaner, the Namaqua Chief	266
The London Peace Society	270
Address to Christians, No. 2	276
Christian Preparation	284
Anecdotes	286
Sam Patch	287
Power	287
POETRY.—In time of War, by Dr. Aikin	288

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, BY M'ELRATH & BANGS, 85 CHATHAM-STREET.

1830.

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THE CALUMET.

NEW SERIES OF THE HARBINGER OF PEACE.

America offers the symbol of peace to the world; Europe offers her arms; Asia half resolves to give up her enmities; and degraded Africa is stretching the weapons of war.

VOL. II. No. I. MAY AND JUNE, 1834. WHOLE No. 19.

NOTICE.—Circumstances of unexpected occurrence have prevented an earlier issue of the present Number of the Calumet. Measures are in train to prevent the recurrence of a similar delay; and that the usual times of publication may not be deranged, the next Number will be put to press immediately.

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

The sixth anniversary of this society was held under peculiarly pleasing auspices. Those who have witnessed the slow and toilsome steps of its advancement to public favor from the period of its formation, could not but be gratified by the spectacle of the full and deeply interested assembly which attended its celebration on this occasion. The meeting was held at the Chatham-street Chapel, at 4 o'clock, P. M., on Tuesday, the Hon. S. V. S. Wilder in the chair. An animating report, detailing the progress of peace principles during the last year, not only in our own country, but throughout the world, indicating a rapid revolution in public sentiment in regard to the utility and the policy of war, was read by the Corresponding Secretary, W. Chipman, Esq.

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24. Two Sheets.

THE CALUMET.

NEW SERIES OF THE HARBINGER OF PEACE.

America presents her symbol of peace to the world; Europe offers her olive; Asia half resolves to give up her cimeter; and degraded Africa is breaking the weapons of war.

Vol. II. No. 6. MARCH AND APRIL, 1835. Whole No 24.

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gress in India, the Cape of Good Hope, and other places where the natives were subjected by power and ball. For the subsequent devastation by the introduction of whisky, the missionaries were not responsible.

If there were no other reason for the rejection of war, the removal of this bar to the conversion of the heathen, would form an all-sufficient and overwhelming one. If the implements of human butchery had never been carried by English and American colonists to Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the Cape of Good Hope, who knows that the dark cloud of paganism would not have rolled off from a great portion of Africa before the present year? And may we not believe that but for a similar draw-back in India and China, genuine Christianity, with its labors of love to the afflicted and suffering, and its consolations to redeemed sinners, would now be generally spread among the hundreds of millions of immortal beings which now people those wide countries? The English governor of Cape Town wrote to the home authorities that half a million pounds expended in educating the natives, might have done more in preventing wars with them than the many millions employed to pay for arms, ammunition and soldiers. Incomparably greater than this saving of money would have been the influence of the exemplification of the benign spirit of the gospel of peace on the natives.

WAR AND SLAVERY—THEIR ABOLITION.

To the Editors of the Herald of Peace:

— An article in the Herald, some time since, by our valued friend, J. H. Douglas, Secretary of the Peace Association of Friends in America, somewhat descriptive of the aim and working of that body, was very interesting to me, and called to mind the object, working, and result of the British Abolition Society, at an earlier day. All honor to the memories of those worthies who labored so long and zealously in that cause, until the people came forth at their call in numbers so large, that the names of the petitioners formed a roll, which, unrolled, would be miles in length. That roll, borne before senators on the shoulders of noble-hearted philanthropists, spoke in thunder tones too loud to be misunderstood, and the petition was answered. No blood offering atoned for that sacrifice. No treasure was lavished for the pouring out of human blood; but in the spirit of love and humanity, the people were moved, and the nation listened to the people. Who can estimate the value of that boon to Afric's children?

If in like manner the people can be reached on the subject of peace; if the masses can be made to realize the enormity of an evil which is almost beyond description, the thing will be accomplished. The moving power is with the people, and who can estimate the good that will have been accomplished when the nations can be disarmed. A Congress of nations for the settlement of disputes, to take the place of the sword, and those who wield it turned to follow the plough, or to other useful avocations; when the millions upon millions of treasure now employed in hostility can be placed in the opposite scale and used in building up, instead of pulling down — in Christianizing the world, elevating the people, and carrying the gospel to our benighted races. All this is not the work of a day, and if we do not anticipate its full accomplishment in our day, we are not excusable without doing our individual duty in the furtherance of the cause.

Let every one who is willing to labor in the Master's cause, every one who professes "Peace on earth, good will to men," every one who is willing to cast his mite in the scale of Christian philanthropy, every lover of humanity, rally to the standard with his banners unfurled, assist in holding up the hands of the faithful laborers in the cause, and do whatever he finds to do in the work, which, aided and blessed by an all-wise Providence, shall hasten that day.

Vassalboro, 3d mo., 1st. Geo. Taber.

Written for the Herald of Peace.

CONSCIENCE AND THE HOLY SPIRIT.

BY M. M. J.

It is important that all Christians should clearly understand the difference between the teachings of the Holy Spirit and the voice of conscience; especially those belonging to a religious society which believe so fully in the perceptible influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit, as does the Society of Friends.

The teachings of the Holy Spirit, coming immediately from God, can be nothing but truth, having always the Bible for the outward test. The conscience may be and often is perverted; in fact it requires to be enlightened. The education of the Hindoo mother teaches her to throw her child before the wheels of the car of her god Juggernaut, or to cast it into the Ganges to appease the wrath of her god; and her conscience applauds the act. The conscience of the Romanist, being so instructed, tells him that penances will expiate his sin, and that of some Christians tells them that when they come to the communion table they eat the body and drink the blood of Christ; and that through the baptism of water, they are admitted into Christ's militant church, of which He is the Head. The conscience of the Friend, having been so instructed, tells him that these religious rites are not in accordance with the teachings of the Spirit; but that those whose sins have been washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb, and whose consciences have been purged from dead works to serve the living God, and those alone, are the members of Christ's militant church; all of whom will eventually, if faithful, be transplanted to the church triumphant in heaven; and that these need not the baptism of water, need not the figure. Also that they who partake in their inmost souls of that bread of life which cometh down from God out of heaven, need not the outward supper of bread and wine; having the substance, they need not the shadow. And this to them is evidence that the Saviour did not command either as a standing ordinance in his church; for He never commanded any thing that is of no use, and therefore entirely superfluous. And for those who have not the substance, the shadow avails nothing.

What then influences the conscience? We have seen that it is education. Give the Hindoo mother the Bible; let her understand from it that there is but one God, the Creator and Preserver of all things; that nothing is offensive in His sight but sin, and that for sin an atonement has already been made in the death of God's own Son; that those are no gods that are the work of men's hands; — and her conscience no longer condemns her for not trying to appease the wrath of the idols. On the contrary her feelings revolt at the idea of what she has already done.

So also with the Romanist. When he becomes convinced that Jesus Christ has paid the debt for the sins of the whole world, and that all we have to do is to turn to Him, repent and live, he sees that faith in Jesus obviates the necessity for penances, and his conscience being enlightened by the Holy Spirit, he now, trusting in Jesus' blood alone, abjures all penances, and his conscience approves.

The Christian, too, whose spiritual eyes are so enlightened as to see that by opening the door of the heart to the blessed Saviour, He will come in and sup with him, and that by so doing, he partakes of the body and blood of Christ, and becomes assimilated to His nature, no longer feels that there is any necessity for going to the communion table, and his conscience releases him. When also his spiritual eyes are opened to see that the outward sprinkling of water can have no effect in making him a member of the church of Christ upon earth, then he can see with the apostle Peter, that the one saving baptism is "the answer of a good conscience toward God," and he feels absolved from any other.

We come therefore to the conclusion that, *what* the eye is to the body, conscience is to the soul. As light is necessary to enable us to see through the medium of the eye (without light upon the eye every thing appearing to be dark), so the light of the Holy Ghost shining upon the conscience, either immediately or through instrumental means, enables it to determine what is right or wrong.

The difference between these two is clearly defined by Joseph John Gurney, in his "Sabbatical Verses," from which the following lines are extracted:

"Accepted be the boon of light divine,
That our redeeming God has given to shine
In every human breast, else wholly dark;
Though often weak, yet *pure* the vital spark;
Call it not 'conscience'—conscience is the eye
That spark illumes, or the soul must die;
The moral truth attracts the mental light,
The medium that reveals its form is *light*.
And God is *light*—from God the source of day,
Through Him who died and lives, the Truth, the Way,
Changeless, from age to age, proceeds the ray;
The same in Britain, India, Athens, Rome,
Man's heart and conscience, its appointed home."

Poughkeepsie, 3d mo., 1st., 1869.

Written for the Herald of Peace

NOTES FOR BIBLE CLASSES.

NO. I.

(*Continued.*)

How was the passover to be eaten?

The flesh must be roast with fire; must be eaten with unleavened bread, and bitter herbs; shoes, staff, and girded loins, showing haste.

So the believer. In fellowship with the sufferings of Christ, who hath passed through the fire; in sincerity, betokened by the unleavened bread (no hidden hypocrisy or corruption), with bitter herbs of wholesome purification (Ps. li, 7); he is ready for the pilgrim journey, staff in hand, eager to depart—bound for the kingdom.

There may be a significance in this being eaten "in that same night."

Inseperably joined must be the imputed and the imparted righteousness of Christ.' The soul that

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THE

Voice of Peace.

REMOVE THE CAUSES AND ABOLISH THE CUSTOMS OF WAR.

VOL. II. PHILADELPHIA & MYSTIC, APRIL, 1873. No. 4.

For The Voice.

THE RELIC OF BARBARISM.

BY REV. PHEBE A. HANAFORD.

Away with the gallows! that relic of days
When Might over Right could prevail,
And none could lift up the loud voice of complaint,
None utter the low, plaintive wail.

'Tis a relic of tyranny, speaking of days
When war was the rule and employ,
When the spear and the bow were the plaything of men,
And to slay was their pastime and joy.

Shall the ages roll on with this burden, this weight,
This draw-back to progress and peace?
Shall the future be cursed with the ghastly and grim?
Will the shedding of blood never cease?

O, God, who hast promised, to Thee still we look,
Though weary we watch for the day,
When the mists shall all vanish, the morning star shine,
And the infamous gallows decay.

When the sword shall be sheathed and the armories closed,
And no epaulettes honor bestow,
While the race shall move on in the march of that host
Who the Might of the Right ever know.

For the Voice.

CITIZENSHIP AND MORAL REFORM.

Full citizenship under any civil government includes eligibility to vote and hold office, as a partner in the government. And, if voluntarily accepted and exercised, it binds the citizen to support the constitution and laws of the State or nation in whose government he makes himself a partner—at least till he can lawfully and peaceably get them amended. Under the General and State governments of this country the rights and obligations of voting citizenship are plainly defined. Every voter is a co-equal partner in the prerogatives and duties of citizenship. Who are his co-equal partners? All voters, good, bad and indifferent, declared such by the constitution and laws. Each one of them is his peer, and the legal majority must rule, backed by the sceptre, purse and sword. Does he agree to all this? Yes, the moment he voluntarily acts as a citizen. So we see what fellowship he chooses to unite with, and what bonds he puts himself under.

Well, this man is a moral reformer. He wants to bring all his governmental partners under Temperance laws, or under Anti-Slavery laws, or under Labor Reform laws, or under Woman's Rights laws, or under Communist laws, or under alleged Christian laws, or under Peace laws. What can he do, and how far can he consistently push his specialty of reform, as a *loyal citizen?* Can he excommunicate any brother voter, or make any new test of membership in the body politic? Yes: if he can by any means get the Constitution and laws altered for that purpose. To do this, he must win the necessary voting or legislative majority. What if he cannot obtain such majority? Then he is bound to abide by and support the majority that *is*. Has he not bound himself to do this? Yes. The Constitution that *is*, and the laws that *be*, and the brotherhood of governing citizens that *rule*, are *his*. He may think them fools, knaves, scoundrels or murderers, and denounce them as such; but, nevertheless they are *his peers*, with whom he has leagued himself, to carry forward the civilization of the world. And, if they are rather reluctant to hurry up the millennium, he must wait a little till they are ready, and not get too far ahead of them. Voting, legislation and coercion will not do his work till he can

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THE

PEACEMAKER.

OUR VOLUME TWO.

At the commencement of Volume II. we greet our friends with a picture—portraits of two pet children. It has been said:

We love a girl for what she is; you see?
A boy for what we hope he is to be.

And so it is with our two pet volumes of the PEACEMAKER. Judging from numerous expressions by the press and correspondents the first volume has already won a place for the PEACEMAKER in the hearts of its friends, both old and young; and with the aid of art and an increased effort to present in an attractive form the beautiful thoughts of the most enlightened and faithful teachers of mankind, calculated to

"Calm the ruffled tempers of the world,"

to say to the angry billows of strife and contention,

"Peace; be still,"

we bespeak for our second volume a largely extended circle of readers and friends.

To our liberal friends who have by their efforts contributed so much to the possibility of its continued existence, we return our sincere thanks; and we hope the second volume will win its way to many new homes.

The present number is necessarily taken up largely with the account of the Seventeenth Anniversary of the Universal Peace Union and the Report of the Executive Board, deemed necessary to preserve a record of the progress made during the past year. To earnest peace-workers these details present matters of great interest. The Treasurer's Report (page 3), in comparison with that of last year (page 33, Vol. I.), shows that since the publication of the PEACEMAKER the income of the Society from various sources has more than doubled; but the expenses have proportionately increased, as a large number of each issue has been sent out to introduce peace principles where they have been hitherto but little thought of. It is not the object to accumulate funds on hand, but to use whatever is received for the immediate prosecution of the great work which the Society has undertaken.

VOL. II. No. 1. WHOLE No., 13. JULY, 1883.

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1884

TO

LUCRETIA MOTT,

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA PEACE SOCIETY,

ON THE NINETY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HER BIRTH,

January 3, 1884.

FRIEND of the suffering and oppressed,
In ways to fame unknown,
Although from earth thou hast progressed
To circles near the throne,

We cannot omit the annual thought
Devoutly given to thee,
As in the sweet remembrance we are
Thy worth in life to see.

LUCRETIA MOTT,

Born of Quaker Parents, on the Island of Nantuckett, Mass., 1792. Died November 11th, 1880, in the 88th year of her Age. A life spent in the cause of humanity.

She did her own thinking, and lived to a ripe old age of usefulness, and was not afraid to die.

While in the courts of time
Thou struck a chord sublime
With deeds of love;
Now thou art gone higher,
To strike the golden lyre
In courts above.

We feel that thou wilt still
Work out God's good-will,
And never cease
Till justice, freedom, truth,
(Ideal of thy youth,)
Establish peace.

No better purpose can
Inspire the heart of man
In this late day
Than that which stirred thy
When thou didst bear a part
In earth's affray.

In Europe's armed host,
Of which the nations boast
Is bondage sore;
The people ground to earth
On land that gave them birth
They seek a shore
Where armies need not be,
And navies plow the sea
And slay no more.

Oh, may we never more
Bestrew our land with gore
Nor stain the sea.
May truth and justice live,
And their rich blessings give
And all agree.
So shall thy purpose grand,
Lucretia,—thy demand—
Accomplished be.

No slave ever sought thy shelter in vain,
When seeking freedom's goal;
No sufferer, whatsoever his pain,
But thou wouldst first console,
Then seek thy best relief to kindly give,
By quiet ways and wise.
A sweet inspiration seemed to live
Within thy love-lit eyes.

Thy country, the world, in greatest
Thy countrymen, mankind,
Thy effort was suffering to redress,
With sympathizing mind.
Oh, friend of the poor and the oppr
In every land and clime,
Thy memory forever will be blessed,
Thy life is all sublime.

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Messenger of Peace.

Motto: "Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, Good Will to Men."

VOL. XV ELEVENTH MONTH, 1883. NO. 11

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Advocate of Peace J. Somerset al

THE Messenger OF Peace

is published monthly by the Secretary of the "Peace Association of Friends in America." It is filled with facts and arguments to prove that war is unchristian, inhuman, and unnecessary. That if men and women of intelligence were as anxious to find a remedy as they are to find an apology for war, the self-imposed scourge of our race would soon be banished from the civilized world. It advocates the brotherhood of mankind, and that we can not injure another without injuring ourselves. Terms, Fifty Cents per annum, or 3 copies sent to one address for Two Dollars. Free to ministers of the gospel of all denominations who will read and recommend it to their congregations.

Address DANIEL HILL,
New Vienna, Clinton Co., Ohio

According to the philosopher Dick, war has destroyed fourteen billions of human beings since man was first placed upon the earth.

Some authors put the number much higher; but, taking Dick's estimate as basis, the loss of life will be as follows:

2,333,333 annually.
194,444 monthly.
6,481 daily.
270 every hour.
4½ every minute.

Shall the sword devour forever? Not if God's Word is true. Christians, come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

Andover Theological seminary will receive $25,000 from the estate of the late Mrs. William Richardson, of Manchester, N. H. The American Bible Society receives about the same amount, according to the lady's will.

Something Sure.

"What a pity nothing ever
Has a beauty that will stay!"
Said our thoughtful little Nellie,
Stopping briefly in her play.
"All these velvet pansies withered,—
And I picked them just to-day!"

"And there's nothing very certain,"
Answered Bess with face demure;
"When it rains we can't go driving,—
I wish promises were truer!
I could rest, if I were certain
Of a single thing that's sure!"

Grandma smiled from out her corner,
Smoothing back a soft gray tress:
"Sixty seconds make a minute,
Did you know it, little Bess?—
Sixty minutes makes an hour,
Never more, and never less.

"For the seconds in a minute,
Whether full of work or fun,
Or the minutes in an hour,
Never numbered sixty-one!
There is one thing that is certain
Ever since the world begun.

"Though the rose may lose its crimson,
And the buttercup its gold,
There is something through all changes,
You may always surely hold:
Truth can never lose its beauty,
Nor its strength, by growing old."

Mrs. Julia P. Ballard.

It is no great matter to live lovingly with good-natured, humble and meek persons; but he who can do so with the forward, wilful, ignorant, peevish and perverse hath true charity.—Thomas a Kempis.

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ENDNOTES

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2. The only works by historians of the peace movement that focus on the peace press are the introductions to the microfiche reproductions of selected nineteenth-century peace periodicals (published by Clearwater Publishing Co., as part of the Library of World Peace Studies), by these authors: Warren F. Kuehl and David C. Lawson, *Advocate of Peace* (1979); David C. Lawson, *American Advocate of Peace* (1978); David C. Lawson, *Calumet* (1978); David C. Lawson, *Friend of Peace* (1978); David C. Lawson, *Harbinger of Peace* (1978); David S. Patterson, *Peacemaker and Court of Arbitration* (1979).

3. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1941); Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War*

on Britain, 1764-1776 (New York: Knopf, 1958); Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Donald H. Stewart, *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969); Donald E. Reynolds, *Editors Make War: Southern Newspapers in the Secession Crisis* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970).

4. David Paul Nord, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America," *Journalism Monographs*, no. 88 (May 1984).

5. E.g., Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric*, 2 vols. (New York: Praeger, 1989); Janet Zollinger Giele, "Social Change in the Feminine Role: A Comparison of Woman's Suffrage and Woman's Temperance 1870-1920," Ph.D. diss., Radcliffe College, 1961; Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977); Lynne Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868-1870," *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 53 (Summer 1976), 242-251; Lynne Masel-Walters, "To Hustle with the Rowdies: The Organization and Functions of the American Suffrage Press," *Journal of American Culture*, vol. 3 (Spring 1980), 167-183; Ann Mather, "A History of Feminist Periodicals," *Journalism History*, vol. 1 (Autumn 1974), 82-85; Lana F. Rakow and Cheris Kramarae, eds., *The Revolution in Words: Righting Women 1868-1871* (New York: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, 1991); Ann Russo and Cheris Kramarae, eds., *The Radical Women's Press of the 1850s* (New York: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, 1991); Martha M. Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991); Linda Steiner, "Finding Community in Nineteenth-Century Suffrage Periodicals,"*American Journalism*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Summer 1983), 1-15.

6. E.g., Hugh H. Davis, "The Reform Career of Joshua Levitt, 1794-1873," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1969; Merton L. Dillon, *Elijah P. Lovejoy, Abolitionist Editor* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1961); Asa Earl Martin, "Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 2, no. 4 (March 1916), 509-528; Russel B. Nye, *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860* (Michigan State University Press, 1963), chapter 7; W. Sherman Savage, *The Controversy over the Distribution of Abolition Literature 1830-1860* (Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1938); John L. Thomas, *The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison, a Biography* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963); Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.*, 2nd ed. (Ames, Ia.: Iowa State University Press, 1990), chapter 2.

7. E.g., Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), chapter 5 ("To Dare Tell the Good News: The Mechanics of Proselytizing: Organizers and Publications"); Janet Zollinger

Giele, "Social Change in the Feminine Role: A Comparison of Woman's Suffrage and Woman's Temperance 1870-1920," Ph.D. diss., Radcliffe College, 1961.

8. Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 101.

9. See: Nancy L. Roberts, *American Peace Writers, Editors, and Periodicals: A Dictionary* (Greenwood Press, 1991). Also, Lauren Kessler's *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History* (Beverly Hills, Calif.,: Sage, 1984) includes a brief chapter limited to twentieth-century developments.

10. See: Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860*, 3-41; W. Freeman Galpin, *Pioneering for Peace: A Study of American Peace Efforts to 1846* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Bardeen Press, 1933), 1-34; Ziegler, *The Advocates of Peace in Antebellum America*.

11. Charles Chatfield, ed., *Peace Movements in America* (New York: Shocken Books, 1973); Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860*, 18-19.

12. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 16-17.

13. DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History*, 32, 34; Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 479.

14. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 459; Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860*, 8. It was absolutely pacifist, opposing all warfare, and aiming "not to form a popular society, but to depend, under God, upon individual personal effort, by conversation and circulating essays" to win a hearing for peace ideas through the churches.[*Memorial of Mr. David L. Dodge, Consisting of an Autobiography Prepared at the Request for the Use of His Children, with a Few Selections from His Writings* (Boston: S.K. Whipple & Co., 1854), 90, as quoted by DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History*, 33.] Immediately the group began to print peace tracts for distribution in boxes of Dodge's merchandise.

15. The MPS's founder Noah Worcester (1758-1837), a Unitarian minister, served as the corresponding secretary, and he edited the society's first periodical, the *Friend of Peace*. Realizing that successful organization was more important than building a small, ideologically pure band of absolute pacifists, the ecumenical MPS welcomed a much broader peace constituency than did the NYPS. It grew fairly quickly, eventually emerging as the more vital and important of the two organizations. At the end of the Society's first year, it reported 185 members (of whom 58 were ministers), and claimed to have distributed 4,820 tracts. Also, 925 numbers of the *Friend of Peace* were distributed (including those sent to members of the Massachusetts Peace Society). [*Friend of Peace*, vol.

1, no. 7 (1817), 39; *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (Jan. 1820), 9; "First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 7 (1817), 31.]

At the end of 1817, the Society reported the distribution of 5,370 tracts and a total of 304 members. In 1818, the Society's third year, it claimed "Upwards of 500" members (Brock claims 1000), with six branch societies. ["Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (1820), 9, 10; Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 473.] It distributed 8,298 tracts, of which 4,785 were copies of the *Friend of Peace*. In 1819, this figure jumped to 16,149 tracts, of which 7,360 were copies of the *Friend of Peace*. [*Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (Jan. 1820), 9-10; "Third Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society, Made at the Annual Meeting in Boston, December 25, 1918," Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pa.] Total membership for that year was put at 882 (including 335 members in the twelve branch societies). ["Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 [1820], 9, 10.] In 1819, the *Friend of Peace* reported that its first three numbers had passed through seven editions in the United States, with the seventh edition of number four currently in press. Also, several other numbers had gone through "5 or 6 editions." [*Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1819), 40.]

16. By 1819, seventeen regional peace societies from Maine to Georgia and from Rhode Island to Indiana, had sprung up. [DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History*, 33.]

17. In addition, 2,860 were sold during that year. Five hundred copies of the *Friend of Peace* were sent to "foreign states and countries," including Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, India, and Ceylon." ["Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 11 (1821), 12.]

18. See Edson L. Whitney, *The American Peace Society: A Centennial History* (Washington, D.C.: The American Peace Society, 1928); Ziegler, *The Advocates of Peace in Antebellum America*.

19. C. Wendell King, *Social Movements in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1956), 27.

20.Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J.P. Mayer and Max Lerner (New York: Harper and Row, 1835/1966), as quoted in Richard B. Kielbowicz and Clifford Scherer, "The Role of the Press in the Dynamics of Social Movements," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, vol. 9 (1986), 71.

21. "Address to the Friends of Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 11.

22. Love wrote a series of articles for the *Voice of Peace* which detailed the genesis of that organization. See, for example: "History of the Organization of the Universal Peace Union," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1873), 1-3 and the conclusion, vol. 2, no. 2 (Feb. 1873), 1-3.

23. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 478-479, 375-388.

24. DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History*, 59-78. In 1884, the Universal Peace Union optimistically claimed that "this nineteenth century will, in all human probability, witness the adoption of arbitration in place of war on the whole American Continent, if not the whole world. To accomplish this object is the work to which the *Peacemaker* is devoted" (*Peacemaker*, vol., 3 no. 1 (July/Aug. 1884), [cover page]). And as early as 1868, its predecessor, the *Bond of Peace*, had advocated arbitration. ["To the Readers of the Philadelphia Tribune," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Feb. 1868), 4.]

25. Phelps, *The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, 68.

26. Nord, "The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America."

27. Curti, *The American Peace Crusade*, 232.

28. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 389.

29. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 366, 367, 375-376, 377. For instance, even as late as 1868, the Quaker *Herald of Peace* commented, "The American Peace Society does not take the stand, which we think accords with the true idea of Peace, viz: personal obedience to Christ, but seeks to do away with war among nations, which can never be accomplished while Christians allow the lawfulness of war, under any circumstances, etc. But it is aiming at a good point, and we trust that guided by honesty, it will eventually comprehend the Peace questions in its clearness and fulness [sic]." [*Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1 Sept. 1868), 42.]

30. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 405.

31. The information about these periodicals presented in this section is based upon my own examination of the files at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pa., supplemented by these secondary sources: Curti, *The American Peace Crusade*, 232-233; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*: vol. I, 1741-1850 (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1930), vol. II, 1850-1865 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), vol. III, 1865-1885 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), vol. IV, 1885-1905 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University

Press, 1957), vol. 5, *Sketches of 21 Magazines, 1905-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); and the *National Union Catalogue* (Pres-1956 Imprints). Also consult Roberts, *American Peace Writers, Editors, and Periodicals: A Dictionary*, 295-328, for detailed publishing data on each periodical.

32. There the *American Advocate of Peace*, as it was known, was edited by the Rev. Caleb Sprague Henry (1834-1835) and by Francis Fellowes (1835-1836). The *American Advocate of Peace* (averaging about 48 pages) absorbed the *Calumet* in June, 1835. The *American Advocate of Peace* published its last number in November, 1836 and was succeeded by a new series, the *Advocate of Peace*. The latter was variously a monthly, a bimonthly, and a quarterly, whose editors included the Rev. George Beckwith and Elihu Burritt. (During Burritt's 1846 editorship, the periodical was renamed the *Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood*). The *Advocate of Peace* moved to Washington, D.C., in 1910, and later changed its title to *World Affairs*.

33. Editors included Thomas W. Stuckey and Alfred H. Love.

34. Quakers had always opposed war, but in 1867 the Peace Association of Friends was formed by seven of the American Yearly Meetings, "for the purpose of bringing this important subject more promptly to the notice of Christian purposes, and to the world at large, than had hitherto been done, and to labor for the spread of this very important feature of the Gospel." [*Messenger of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1 Feb. 1872), 65.]

35. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*, 93.

36. According to Frank Luther Mott, magazine subscription prices were rather variable in the 1741-1850 period, with reviews (such as the *Knickerbocker*, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and the *Democratic*) each charging five dollars per year. During this period, "Three dollars a year came the nearest to being a standard rate; that was the subscription price of the leading women's magazines, of the *New World* and *Brother Jonathan*, of *Graham's* and many others. The number of dollar magazines is surprisingly large, however." [Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, vol. 1, *Ibid.*, 513-514.]

37. *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 10 (Feb. 1829), 220 and vol. 2, no. 5 (Sept. 1829), back cover. "Whenever the society can afford to pay an editor, a more able one will be procured; but it will be difficult to find an editor who will do the work for nothing, and take all the trouble and risk on himself besides, as we have done." [*Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (April 1829), 287; Lawson, "Introduction," microfiche reproduction of *Calumet*, 2.]

38. See, for example, *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 8 (1817), 40; *Calumet*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Nov./Dec. 1834), 97; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1837), 96; *Herald of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 2 (15 August 1869), 5; *Bond of Peace*, new series, vol. 1, no. 12 (Dec. 1871), 182.

39. For example, *Calumet*, vol. 2, no. 1 (May/June 1834), 31-32; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 18 (Aug. 1839), 48; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 19 (Oct. 1839), 72; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 22 (Apr. 1840), 144; *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 5 (May 1868), 2; *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 6 (June 1869), 44; *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1869), 64; *Voice of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 10 (Jan. 1879), 156; *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 5 (Aug. 1881), 76; *Peacemaker*, vol. 4, no. 1 (July 1885), 16.

40. J.G.C. Kennedy, *Catalogue of the Newspapers and Periodicals Published in the United States. Compiled from the Census of 1850* (New York: J. Livingston, 1852), 19. One of the few additional sources for this period is Daniel J. Kenny, *The American Newspaper Directory and Record of the Press* (New York: Watson and Co., 1861).

41. "Third Report of the American Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May/June 1831), 8; *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 23 (June 1840), 153.

42. *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 10 (Oct. 1879), 149.

43. See, for example, Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, vol. 1, *Ibid.*, 514; vol. 2, *Ibid.*, 10; vol. 3, *Ibid.*, 6,7; vol. 4, *Ibid.*, 16, 17.

44. Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 4, 15, 29-29.

45. Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 4.

46. Thus, for instance, the *Advocate of Peace* aimed to reach "*every class* of readers." [*Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (June 1838), 10.] And the *Friend of Peace* sometimes found it difficult to address simultaneously its dual audience of readers in the United Sates and abroad; for instance, it had considered listing duels under a regular column called "Disgraceful Occurrences." But this was deemed not a good idea, because, "recollecting that the circulation of this work is not confined to the United States, we are unwilling to be the instruments of extending to other countries a detail of such barbarous occurrences in our own." ["Disgraceful Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 39.]

47. "First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 7 (1816), 30, 31.

48. "While correcting the last proof, we received the pleasing intelligence from Maine, that at Minot, July 9th, a READING PEACE SOCIETY was organized, consisting of seventy-nine members." ["Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 1 (July 1824), 32.] See also (for example): "Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1819), 39-40.

49. "Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, Appendix, no. 3 (July 1828), 96; "Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 35.

50. "Intelligence from Peace Societies," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 9 (Aug. 1816), 40; "Peace Societies in Great Britain," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 31-32; "Raleigh Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 32-33; "Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 34; "Interesting Facts," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (1 May 1818), 38-39.

51. "Auspicious Movements," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Dec. 1837).

52. For example, "New Peace Societies," *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 283; "Intelligence: Peace Societies--Resolutions, &c.," *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 7 (Dec. 1835), 340-342; "Intelligence: Peace Societies--Resolutions, &c.," *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 5 (June 1835), 248-252; "Intelligence," *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1834), 55-56; "Report of Kindred Movements," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1869), 66; "Indications of Progress in the West," *Bond of Peace*, new ser., vol. 1, no. 3 (March 1871), 35; "Pleasant Reciprocity," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 11 (Nov. 1869), 90; "Iowa Peace Society," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Nov. 1873), 26; "An Earnest Peace Movement in England," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 9 (Dec. 1878), 129-131; "Important International Peace Movement" (trans. by Thomas J. Durant), *Voice of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 11 (Feb. 1879), 161-163; "The Peace Movement," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 6, no. 5 (Aug. 1879), 70-73; "Woman's Peace Movement in England," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 6 (Sept. 1874), 96.

53. For example, "Influence of Peace Reading--of the Advocate," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Feb. 1843), 20.

54. "Correspondence," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Jan. 1879), 1. Another, printed in the *Friend of Peace*, claimed that circulation of that periodical had "produced a very beneficial effect," helping "the cause of Peace [to gain] ground." ["Intelligence from Peace Societies," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 9 (Aug. 1816), 40.]

55. *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 11 (1 Feb. 1816), 40.

56. However, the *Herald* did conclude the column of letters with this comment from a reader: "I like the free, fearless and independent spirit of the editors, who speak out so plainly." ["What They Think of Us," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 2 (15 Aug. 1868), 21.]

57. "Exposition of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 13 (Feb. 1839), 199.

58. *Harbinger of Pace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 286.

59. "Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 7 (May/June 1832), 198.

60. "First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 7 (1817), 32.

61. *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 11 (Dec. 1836), back cover; "Explanatory & Salutatory," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 6. Note: similarly, the first Pennsylvania Peace Society's *Advocate of Peace* pledged that "being devoted to the cause of peace and brotherly love,... [it would] never exhibit its columns disgraced by unprofitable altercation;...Well digested arguments; deductions from certain data; abstracts of Missionary news; reflections on existing abuses relative to our subject; reports of other similar societies; extracts of a useful and entertaining nature; and whatever may tend to promote 'peace on earth,' will be considered matter germain [sic] to our purpose." [*Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Peace society, 1823), 7.]

62. *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 3 (March 1879), 1, 34-35; J.J. Copp, *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Apr. 1873), 10-12; William M. Holland, *American Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 11 (Dec. 1836), 107-114.

63. E.g., "Hymn to Peace," *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Sept. 1829), 120; "What the Winds Bring," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 7 (1 May 1869), 87; Bernard Barton, "Power and Gentleness," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1, new ser. (Jan. 1871), 11; "The Star of Peace," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 1; "Horrors of War," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Feb. 1880), 1; Milton Belden, "The Brotherhood of Man," *Peacemaker*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1882), 7.

64. E.g., "Harry's Mittens," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1873), 7; "Joe Benton's Coal Yard," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 3 (March 1879), 37-38.

65. Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868-70," 249; Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 50-51; Bordin, *Woman and*

Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900, 91-93; Nye, *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860*, 122.

66. E.g., "Our Little Folks' Corner, " *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1, new ser. (Jan. 1871), 11 and vol. 1, no. 4, new ser. (Apr. 1871), 57; "Children's Department," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 5 (1 Apr. 1869), 58-59 and vol. 3, no. 7 (1 May 1869), 86-87; "Children's Department," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 6, no. 4 (July 1879), 61-64; "For Young Readers," *Peacemaker*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1882), 14-16.

In some cases, a separate publication evolved for children, such as the American Peace Society's *Angel of Peace* and the Universal Peace Union's *Leaflets of Peace for children* (which, while a separate monthly publication, was apparently appended to monthly issues of the *Voice of Peace*).

Sometimes the children's publication replaced the special children's section within the adult periodical. Thus, the *Herald of Peace* dropped its children's section with the publication by the Herald Company, starting in January 1869, of the *Guiding Star*. ["Announcement," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1 Oct. 1868), 74.]

67. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 92-93.

68. "Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 7 (May/June 1832), 198.

69.American Anti-Slavery Society, *First Annual Report*, 1834, 41, as quoted in Savage, *The Controversy over the Distribution of Abolition Literature 1830-1860*, 9.

70. *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1 Feb. 1872), 72.

71. "Peace Societies in Great Britain," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Aug. 1819), 32.

72. "The Tongue, the Pen and the Press," *Friend of Peace, Appendix*, no. 3 (July 1828), 90-94.

73. Charles Stewart, Craig Smith, and Robert E. Denton, Jr., *Persuasion and Social Movements* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1984), 38.

74. *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1815), 38.

75. "Twelfth Annual Report," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 23 (June 1840), 153.

76. "Address to the Friends of Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 11; "Exposition of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 13 (Feb. 1839), 201-202.

77. "Explanatory & Salutatory," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 6.

78. "Public Opinion Against War," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1837), 7.

79. "Tenth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 5 (June 1838), 9.

80. "Address to the Friends of Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 11.

81. "Proceedings of the Convention of the Friends of Peace, of the State of Pennsylvania, Held at Philadelphia, on Thursday, April 4th, 1850" (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1850), 6.

82. "Report of the Connecticut Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 14 (May/June 1833), 418.

83. For instance, "Report of the Rev. George C. Beckwith's Agency in Behalf of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 31; "The Ninth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 19-20; *Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1846), 11; "Close of Volume VIII," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, supplement to no. 12 (Apr. 1882), 197.

84.Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 47-48.

85. *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Mar. 1869), 20.

86. *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 285.

87. Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868-70," 249; Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 14-15, 50-51.

88. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 92-93.

89. "A Peace Paper," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 5 (1 Apr. 1869), 54.

90. Kielbowicz and Scherer, "The Role of the Press in the Dynamics of Social Movements," 71-72.

91. "Items of Home Intelligence: The Press on Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 6, no. 5 (May 1845), 57. See also: "Newspapers on Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 6 (June 1843), 67; "Intelligence: Peace Societies--Resolutions--Publications, &c.," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1834), 102-103.

92. "Ninth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 20, 24-25; See also: p.32, and "Tenth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," vol. 2, no. 5 (June 1838), 13; "Periodicals on Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 19 (Oct. 1839), 70; "The Newspaper Press on Peace," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 13 (Jan. 1844), 154-156.

93. *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 286.

94. *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Sept./Oct. 1831), 69. See also: "Third Report of the American Peace Society," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May/June 1831), 8; *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 7 (May/June 1832), 198, 202.

95. For example, "Notice of Peace Publications," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1815), 39-40; "Peace Societies in Great Britain," *Friend of Peace*, vol., 2, no. 5 (9 Aug. 1819), 31.

96. For instance, the *Herald of Peace* printed a "Letter to the Conductors of the Public Press," pleading that "the Fourth Estate" adopt the cause of peace. [*Herald of Peace*, Jan. 1846, 10-12.]

97. "Answers to Contemporaries," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 6 (June 1869), 40. Similarly, as part of the record of its second anniversary proceedings, the Universal Peace Union had noted Horace Greeley's response to Alfred H. Love's invitation to attend the proceedings. "Dear Sir: I believe in Peace," Greeley had written, "and mean to do my best to secure it. My impression is, however, that disarming the good, and turning them over to the tender mercies of the bad, is not the way to secure it. I apprehend that some of the chronic enemies of Peace will have to be disarmed, possibly killed, before we can have universal and lasting Peace." [*Proceedings of the Second Anniversary of the Universal Peace Society* (at Dodeworth's Hall, New York Friday, May 16, 1868), Universal Peace Society, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, 14.] Note: When Greeley died, the editor of the UPU's *Voice of Peace* reprinted a generous eulogy from the *New York Tribune* and added, "May his many good works be remembered and cherished long after the faults and mistakes of his noble life are forgotten." [Horace Greeley, " *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1873), 5.]

98. Stewart, Smith, and Denton, *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 45.

99. "A Plain Statement," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 11.

100. "To the U. Peace Union," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Apr. 1873), 5.

101. E.g., "On the Infliction of Death as a Punishment," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Mar. 1835), 17; "Nature and Object of Punishment," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1 Aug. 1868), 1; "The Prison a Sphere for Womans' [sic] Labor," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1 Aug. 1868), 1.2; "The Death Penalty," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1868), 3-4; "Capital Punishment," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1869), 4; Charles Williams, "Capital Punishment," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1, new ser. (Jan. 1871), 1.2; J.P. Haines, "Capital Punishment," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 6 (1 Mar. 1872), 73 [cover page], 74; "Universal Peace Union and Capital Punishment," *Peacemaker*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1882), 11; "Gallows Fruits," *Peacemaker*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1882), 11. Note: the *Advocate of Peace* devoted space to discussing why the American Peace Society did not wish to debate the capital punishment issue. ["Ninth Annual Report of the American Peace Society," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1837), 27.]

102. E.g., "Auspicious Occurrences," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1819), 39; "Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (Jan. 1820), 44; "Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1824), 45-47; "The Indians," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1868), 4,6-7; "Our Memorial in Behalf of the Indians" and "The Late Indian Massacre," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1869), 4; "Universal Peace Union," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1869), 21; "Our Indian Interest," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1869), 64; "Letter to the Ojibway Indians," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 1 (June 1872), 3-4; "Indian Affairs," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 5 (Oct. 1872), 12; "The Modoc Indians," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Apr. 1873), 9; "The Condemned Modocs," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 10 (Oct. 1873), 2; "Christian and Savage Warfare," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Nov. 1873), 1; "Indian Department--Indians and Negroes," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 6 (Sept. 1874), 84-85; "Of Indians Who Were Once Our Guests in Philadelphia," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 6 (Sept. 1874), 85; "Civilization Amongst the Indians," *Voice of Peace* vol. 1, no. 6 (Sept. 1874), 86-88; "Official Report of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Peace Society," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 5, no. 10 (Jan. 1879), 149, 152-153; "Indian Department," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Apr. 1881), 4-6; "Greeting of Indian Children and Baltimore Children to the Peace Girls and Boys," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 4 (July 1881), part of the children's section (*Leaflets of Peace for Children*), 62-64; "Indian Subject," *Peacemaker*, vol. 4, no. 1 (July 1885), 10.

103. "To the Readers of the Philadelphia Tribune," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Feb. 1868), 4. See also: "Woman," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1869), 5; "The Woman Movement," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1869), 20; "Does the Peace Movement Comprehend Woman Suffrage," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (July 1869), 51; "Sojourner Truth," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Jan. 1870), 4; "The Iowa Idea of Woman's Rights," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no.

3 (March 1879), 44; "Woman Suffrage to Secure Peace," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 7, no. 8 (Nov. 1880), 128; "Official Report of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Universal Peace Union, Held in New York City, May 27th, 28th and 29th, 1881," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 4 (July 1881), 55-56; "A Girl's work at Home," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 12, no. 2 (Feb. 1882), 30-31. Note: in keeping with its editorial philosophy, the *Bond of Peace* published an advertisement for the *Women's Advocate*, a reform magazine. [Vol., 2, no. 6 (June 1869), p. 4 of the advertising supplement following p. 44.]

104. *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 7 (July 1879), 104. See also: "Temperance," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 5 (Apr. 1869), 60; H.J. Smith, "Intemperance," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 7 (1 May 1869), 75; "Intemperance versus Peace," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Apr. 1873), 12-13; "Anti-Treating Pledge," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 3 (March 1879), 43; "Temperance Tidbits," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 8 (Aug. 1879), 125; "A Cruel King," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 11 (Nov. 1879), 168.

105. "The Smoker," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 7 (July 1869), 54. See also (for example): "A Smoking Clergyman," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1869), 64; "Mental Effects of Tobacco," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 15, no. 9 (Sept. 1885), 138-139; "A Little Boy's Resolve," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 15, no. 9 (Sept. 1885), 139.

106. E.g., "Animals Versus Men," *Bond of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1869), 20, 24; J. Murray Spear, "Treatment of Dumb Animals," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 13 (Jan. 1874), 1, 2; "No Peace where there is Cruelty to Animals," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 5 (Aug. 1874), 76; "Kindness to Animals," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 10 (Oct. 1879), 151.

107. "Cruelty to Animals," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 2 (15 Aug. 1868), 19.

108. "An Estimate of Human Sacrifices in the Russian Campaign," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1815), 25; "War and Slavery--Their Abolition," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 5 (1 Apr. 1869), 50. Note: along with women's rights, abolition was the most common companion movement in which antebellum peace advocates were involved. The small number of articles opposing slavery in this sample undoubtedly is a function in part of the time period of the publications sampled.

109. E.g., "Carrying Concealed Deadly Weapons," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1873), 5; "Boys and Pistols," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Feb. 1879), 22; "Official report of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Universal Peace Union, Held in New York City, May 27th, 28th and 29th, 1881," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 4 (July 1881), 56; "Lynch Law," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 2 (15 Aug. 1868), 1.

110. E.g., "Prison Discipline," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (15 July 1868), 1; "Term Sentences," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1 Sept. 1868), 1; "Efforts Against the Whipping Post," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Apr. 1881), 3-4.

111. "American Peace Society. Proceedings of the Fifth Anniversary.," *Calumet*, vol. 1, no. 13 (May/June 1833), 387; "Boys and Pistols," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Feb. 1879), 22.

112. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 91-92.

113. Solomon, ed., *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, 37, 57.

114. Masel-Walters, "Their Rights and Nothing More: A History of *The Revolution*, 1868-70," 249.

115. Phelps, *The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, 62.

116. "Imperial Policy," *Friend of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (1 May 1818), 39. See also (for example): "Horrors of War at Leipzig,

117. "War Scenes and Expenses," *Voice of Peace*, vol. 6, no. 5 (Aug. 1879), 67.

118. "Sketches of War," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1837), 80, 81.

119. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, vol. 18 (Summer 1966), 151-174.

120. "War and the Social Affections: The Maniac Mother," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 2, no. 9 (Oct. 1838), 111.

121. "British Atrocities in South Africa," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 8 (Aug. 1879), 115; "A Doomed Army," *Messenger of Peace*, vol. 9, no. 8 (Aug. 1879), 124.

122. "Corporal Punishment," *Harbinger of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (Apr. 1829), 280. See also: "Treatment of Soldiers," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 3, no. 19 (Oct. 1839), 68-69.

123. John H. Douglass, "Consideration of the Question of Peace," *Herald of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 12 (15 July 1868), 1.